2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. VI.

the protection of secluded woods, or migrate like the Todas for the period of the monsoon season.

It is also a Toda custom to vacate a house, or even the entire village, for a certain limited period, if one of their number should have died, or sickness be rife amongst the community or attack their cattle.

In these matters they follow the dictates of sorrow, of prudence, or of necessity, much as we do under very similar circumstances. We too, who can afford the luxury, have a town as well as a country house; take trips to the sea-side, or at times vacate the tenement which some dear one has just left for ever. These people do no more. *No* Toda is so persistently migratory as thousands of our own countrymen are.

From what is here written it will be understood why the Nilagiris may have upwards of one hundred Mands on its surface, yet not more than forty of the number be actually occupied.

I have ascertained, in the course of a careful census of eleven Toda Mands—the detailed results of which will be found tabulated in Chapter X.—that they contain from two to three dwelling-houses or huts, whose general appearance is depicted on the frontispiece. Most of these houses consist of only one room or cabin, but many are formed by the juncture of two, and sometimes even of three rooms in a line; each with its own door leading direct into the external air and unconnected with one another. The Toda name for a room and for a house is the same.

The rooms, though all of the exact same shape, vary somewhat in size; from five to six cubits square in area, and from five to six cubits high. Thus, a house of two rooms would be about 8 ft. by 16 ft.; and a house of three rooms would measure some 8 ft. by 24 ft.

Each room holds one entire subdivision of a family.

The roofs of all houses are thatched with grass and

CHAP. X. 164 621 342 511 572

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

TABLE No. III. *Census.*

Mands		Houses					Inhabitants										Particulars regarding Inhabitants	Remarks M = Mands I = Inhabitants
							Male					Female						
Toda Names	Badaga Names	Dwelling Rooms	Dwelling Houses	Sacred Houses	Deserted Houses	Total of Houses	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Widowed Adults	Married Adults	Single Adults	Children	Total	Grand Total	
Diljâvenu .	Karikall .	3	3	2	1	6	—	3	3'	4	10	1'	2	1	6'	9	19	1. Two younger brothers of the married men. One dairyman aged 18 years. 2. Mother of one of the married men and of the dairyman. 3. Two of 12 years of age.	M. Well sheltered and drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kakbodi .	Kakbodi .	2	2	1	1	4	—	3'	—	2	5	—	2'	—	—	2	7	1, 2. One man and one woman, lately married: hence the small number of children.	M. Well sheltered, but imperfectly drained. Doors face north. I. Tolerably hale, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Berasthro .	Karrathro .	2	1	1	—	2	—	4'	—	3	7	—	4'	—	1	5	12	1, 2. One father, one mother, two sons, two wives of sons, one daughter, and one husband of daughter. Two of these pairs having lately married, the number of children is small.	M. Not well sheltered or drained. Doors face west. I. Hale, and fairly vigorous. Very poor.
Konna-hoar	Konna-korrâi .	3	2	1	—	3	—	4	3'	3	10	—	4'	1'	1'	6	16	1. Two dairymen. 2. One aunt and two nieces. 3. A cripple from birth, aged 20 years. 4. Aged 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south. I. Healthy, and fairly vigorous. One cripple from birth.
Elgodu .	Elgodu .	4	3	1	1	5	1'	4'	4'	3	12	1'	4'	—	6'	11	23	1. About 85 years. Admitted to this Mand through kindness, having lost his own children and quarrelled with his grandchildren. 2. Aged 16 years. 3. Two are dairymen. 4. About 75 years of age. 5. One in	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Hale and vigorous. Very comfortable. An old man nearly deaf. An infant

Bhagdu	Bhagdu	4	2	2	—	3	2	4	2	6	14	2	4	—	4	10	24	1. Both brothers of one of the married men. 2. One aged 12, engaged to be married. One aged 16, a dairyman. 3. One mother of one of the married men. One mother of two of the married women. 4. Two about 12 years of age. One sister to one of the married men.	M. Much exposed, but well drained. Doors face east. I. Healthy, but not vigorous. Very poor.
Karikk	Kambal	5	3	0	—	5	—	10	6	4	20	—	10	—	0	12	32	One father, one mother, one married son, one son a dairyman. One father, one mother, one married daughter. Three married sisters. Three women lately married. One woman barren. Three with small families.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Mâmandi	Mardisi	3	3	1	1	3	1	6	1	3	11	1	6	—	4	10	23	1. Son of one widow. 2. Four sons of same widow, and two grandsons. 3. Son of same widow, a dairyman. 4. The second widow is mother-in-law of widower; also mother-in-law of one of the grandsons. One a child-marriage.	M. Well sheltered and well drained. Doors face east and south-west. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Comfortable.
Kuhkir	Kukkuri	3	2	1	—	3	—	6	1	3	11	—	6	—	3	9	23	2. Two are sons of one married woman. One is a son of another married woman. Two are boys, aged 12 and 13. 2. A dairyman, 24 years of age. 3. Two are daughters of one married woman. One is a daughter of another married woman. Two child-marriages.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and fairly vigorous. Poor. A girl squints. A woman blind of one eye from an accident.
Kirsho	Kundaro	2	1	1	—	2	—	2	1	2	5	1	2	—	1	4	9	1. A dairyman, 13 years of age. 2. Mother of one married woman and of one married man. 3. One aged 12 years.	M. Fairly sheltered and well drained. Doors face south and east. I. Healthy and vigorous, except one man. Comfortable.
Mokarsk	Manchakill	4	3	1	—	4	1	1	1	2	6	—	3	—	1	4	10	1. Father of girl of 14. 2. Dairyman aged 13. 3. One is mother of one of the other married women. 4. Aged nearly 14 years.	M. Exposed, but well drained. Doors face south-east. I. Healthy and vigorous. Comfortable.
		35	25	13	4	41	5	49	22	36	112	7	47	1	29	84	196		

childbed. 6. One of 14 years, one of 12 years. One infant with a disease of the skin.—The four married men, and four single adults, are six brothers and two nephews.

with disease of the skin. A woman in childbed.

H

CHAP. X. 162 6691 342 511 342

A perusal of the Column in Table No. 3 which affords

CHAP. X.

particulars regarding the inhabitants, will give a curious insight of the social economy of the Mand. It may be viewed as a house occupied by one family; in each room of which a subdivision of the family lives. If we look closely into the details of—for instance—villages Diljâvenu and Koana-koar, we find in the former, 3 rooms in which live 5 adult men, 3 adult women, 2 girls twelve years of age, besides 8 other children of both sexes. In the latter village are 3 rooms containing 6 adult men, 5 adult women, one of whom is unmarried, 1 girl of fourteen years, with 3 small boys.

The people do not set apart a room as bachelor-hall, as some equally rude tribes do; the Kôls for instance.

I find in a statistical Report of the Nilagiris,[4] submitted in the year 1847 to the Government of that day, that the Todas were then estimated at only 337 people. Owing, perhaps, to the low figure at which the number is fixed; partly also to the existence of certain mistakes, which have of late been discovered in the names and positions assigned to certain villages, an impression exists that the data are not to be entirely relied upon. But the record, given as found in the carefully compiled Report, is, I believe, not very incorrect. No census having been published since 1847, I am indebted to the kindness of the late Commissioner of the Nilagiris,[5] for the most reliable statement of the number of the Todas, extant. Mr. Breeks believes that in the year 1867 they amounted to 455 males and 249 females, of all ages; giving a total of 704 souls.

8. Referring to the Census Table of 11 villages of various sizes; it appears that there are 112 males + 84 females = 196 souls in those Mands, or 17·82 as the average number in each. Of these 112 males, 49 + 22 = 71 are in the prime of life.

[4] Captain J. Ouchterlony, Madras Engineers, 'Statistical Report of the Nilgherry Hills. 1847.'

[5] Mr. J. Breeks.

1 [See pp. 98 and 99, Category 116 -- Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 234 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pūjāri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pūjāri*.

421 428 592 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *patta** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue "and learning*." Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 177 651 461 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gūdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 294 262 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nīlagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Patta*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gūdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gūdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest*. The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kōri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kōri*. One basket or *Gūdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor*.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 [621 592] his estimate. As it was, I found nearly always at least two polyandrous households in every single *mund* that I visited in 1939, and never one in which there was no polyandry.

At Or, a *mad* belonging to the Norsh *modol*, I found four brothers married to one woman, with the two elder brothers married to another woman, and living with her in another house a little further away. At Pakharkwur, a Karsh *mad*, a man named Nipö, already father of five girls, had lately been joined by his younger brother, because the latter had recently lost his wife, and the mother of the children had had to accept him as a husband as well. Here also, two other brothers had one wife in common, and, as in the previous case, had put up a separate household close-by. Another good example of polyandry among the Tardharsh moiety of the tribe (to which the above mentioned people belonged), was that of the Melgarsh *etumad* (chief *mad*), in which there were three older men sharing one wife, and their three sons married in the same way to a single woman. In a separate house of the *mad*, two cousins of the previous men had likewise a common wife between them. We shall return more fully to Melgarsh in the second part of this chapter, when the account of the special study which I made in 1949 of that *mad* will be given.

601 595 Among the Teivilkhs, I also found many polyandrous unions when I visited the Todas for the first time in 1939. Thus at Kiur, a Kuur *mad* I saw two brothers with one wife in common, the mother of one child. At Arsh *mad* (Badaga name; Anekkalmund), belonging to the same Kuur *modol* of the Teivilkh, I met Eroï, Keel and Konokh (56), the last two living polyandrously with a woman called Mab, after they had earlier shared another one called Potöz. I found these people so friendly and interesting that I stayed some time with them in order to become better acquainted with their history and way of living.

On June 19th, 1939, I made their genealogy, which was then as recorded in Table 21.

[584] Potöz, to whom the three brothers had earlier been married polyandrously, had herself first been betrothed, I was told, to her *matchuni* Kazan, at the age of two, as is the Toda custom. When she came of age, however, after due compensation had been paid to Kazan's family, she married the three brothers from Arshmad, but fell ill very early and died before she could bear them any children.

[467 587] Then the following occurred: Eroï found employment as a government peon, and decided to leave the association. He married the girl called Sotabuf, took away one third plus two of the buffaloes owned

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

2. FAMILY LIFE AT MELGARSH

From the plan of the Melgarsh *mad* in Figure 18, it will be seen that there are three inhabited houses. These are numbered respectively from 1 to 3 and have the following names: No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*, or Bamboo House, i.e. the chief house, built with more bamboos than the others (in each Toda *mad* there is such a *Warthuttiarsh*); No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*, or Middle House; No. 3, the *Pudharsh*, or New House; these two last houses are also known as *Pardzilarsh* or Ordinary Houses, as opposed to the *Warthuttiarsh*.

In Figs. 19, 20, and 21 plans of each of these houses are given, with indications as to who sleeps in them and where.

Kuddhue, who was frequently *tarvalikartmokh* when I was at Melgarsh, slept together with Pershrörsh in the *tarvali* (not accounted for in the figures above, but visible in Fig. 18).

On the whole, the order in which people slept in the houses was surprising. Asked why, for instance Sodup slept with his grandfather and not with his parents as would have been expected, the Todas told me that it was "for his virile education". That Motsod and Izam slept on the floor when their sons slept on the *ertülkh* seemed to me equally astonishing, but I was made to understand that the latter were the coming generation and should be made as comfortable as possible with their common wife.

The finances of the Melgarsh family were equally unpredictable. Thus apart from the revenue in kind which the buffaloes brought in, and the capital invested in the houses and dairy-temples, the men received the following remunerations in cash from outside:

Pads: Rs. 46 a month as gardener in the Botanical Gardens, Ootacamund.

Mutnarsh: Rs. 36 as a gardener at the same place, and another Rs. 36 from the lease of the potato field which the government has imposed on the *mad*, lease which has gone to a Badaga cultivator.

Munbokwutn; Rs. 12 a week as a casual labourer with various Badagas.

Singud: Rs. 36 a month as a forest guard of the Madras Forestry Department.

Pilkhlivowutn: Rs. 36 as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

Porshwutn (Motsod's absentee son): Rs. 60 a year, clothes and food from a Badaga cultivator for whom he works and with whom he lives.

Pufvkiaroz: Rs. 35 a month as a gardener in the Botanical Gardens.

[text continues on p. 290]

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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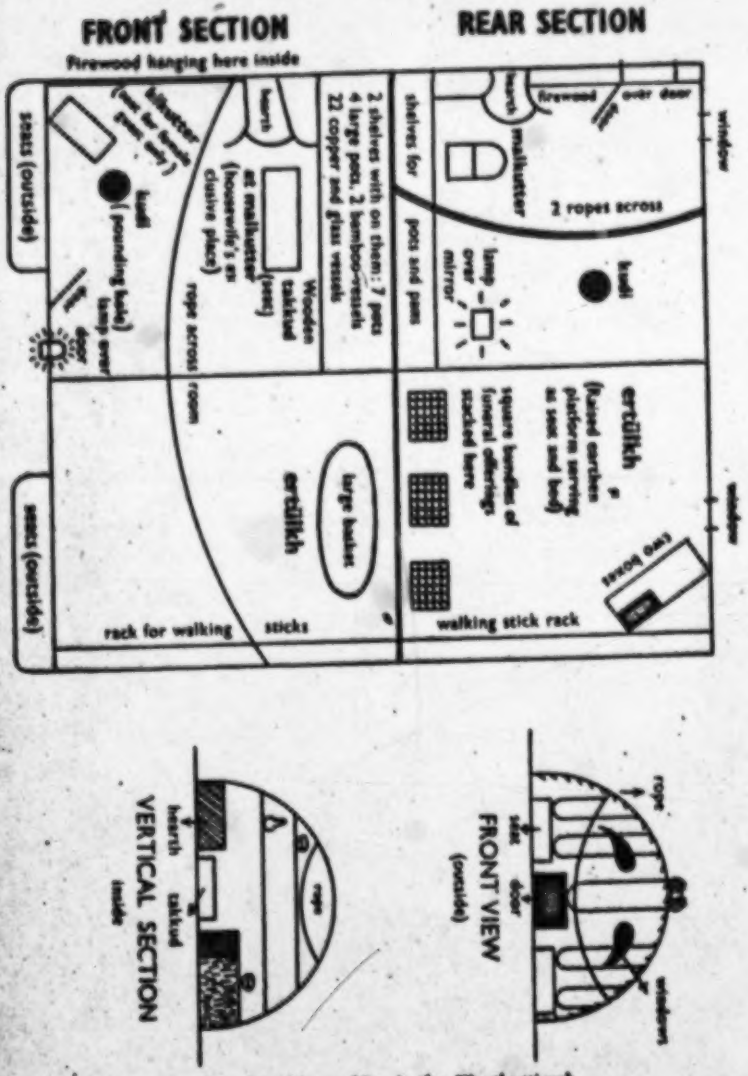

Fig. 19. House No. 1, the *Warthuttiarsh*.
Inhabitants of front part: Karnoz, Naisirwuf, Sodup and Odzel; the last named sleeps on the floor, the other three on the *ertülikh*.
Inhabitants of the rear part: Singharsh, Amoniwuf, Singud and Munbokwutn; the last named sleeps on the *ertülikh* with either of the brothers, while the other alternatively sleeps on the floor with the common wife.

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13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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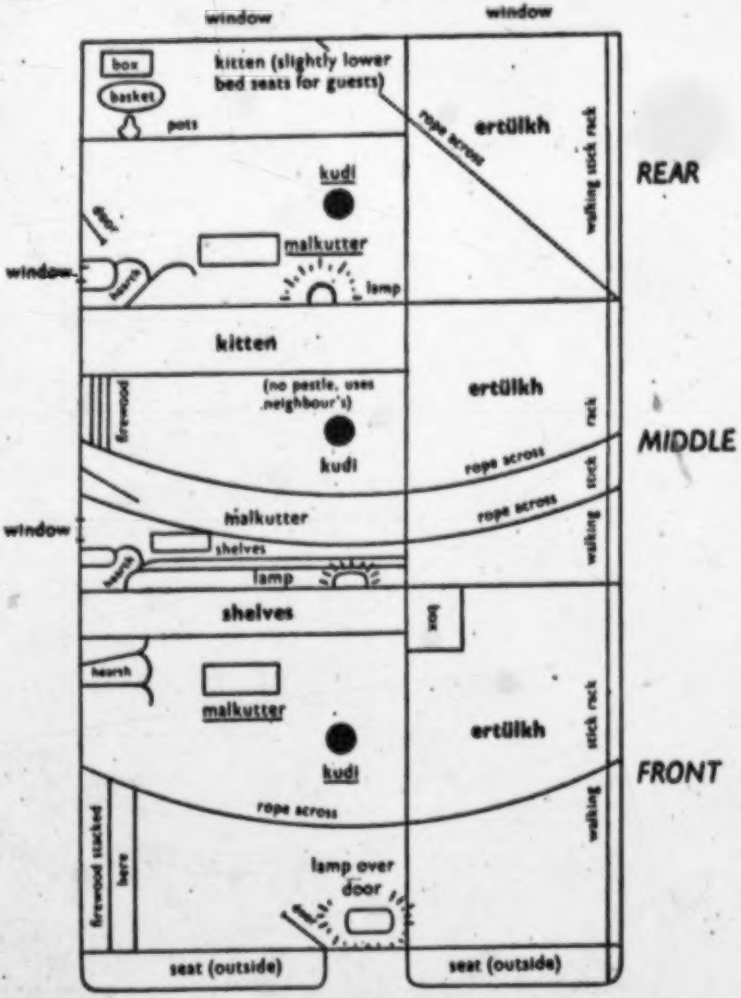

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Fig. 20. House No. 2, the *Nortzarsh*.

Inhabitants in the front part: Padz, Silidz, Narjilkh, and Pengelam; the two children sleep at the feet of their grandparents, who have their heads nearest the door; guests are accomodated on the *ertülkh*, while the inhabitants sleep on the floor.

Inhabitants in the middle part: Puvkiaroz and Mutnali; they sleep together on the *ertülkh*; guests are accomodated on the *kitten*.

Inhabitants of the rear part: Mutnarsh, Erzigwuf, Kupidz and Sodam; the newborn twins were also put up here with their mother; the father sleeps with the little girl on the *kitten*, the two women sleep on the *ertülkh*, one at each end.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

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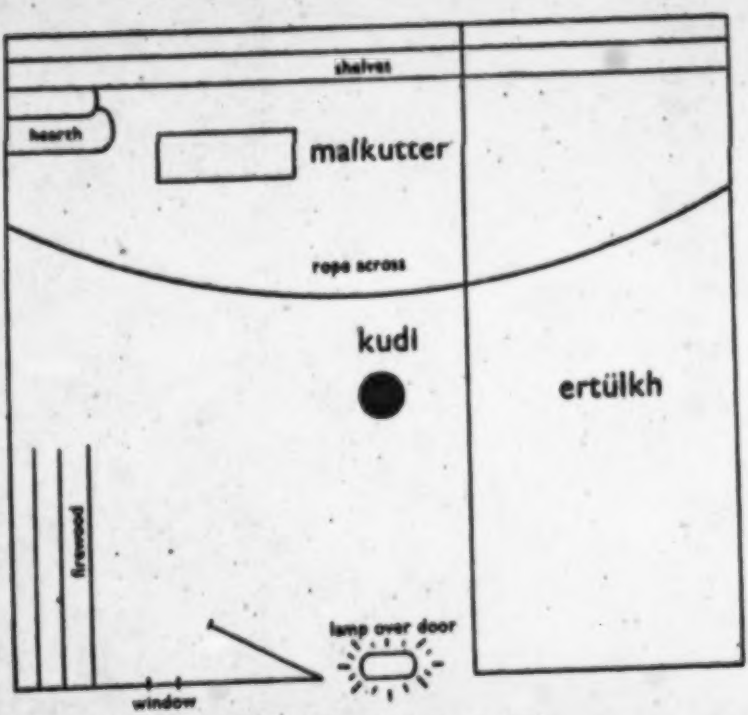

Fig. 21. House No. 3, the *Padkarsh*.

Inhabitants: Pilkhilvowutn, Nārshmali, Motsod, Izam and Kirsharswutn; the two first of these sleep on the *ertülkh*, the older couple on the floor, the younger boy sleeps on the *ertülkh* too, with his head towards the back of the arsh. Motsod is very often out, either as priest-dairyman, when he sleeps in the tarvali, or to see friends in other mads. Kirsharswutn often helps his father in the tarvali, when he also sleeps in the dairy-temple.

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To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 525 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which polyandry turns.

To 595 582 472 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of the common property.

To 595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

To 595 422 592 220a.

second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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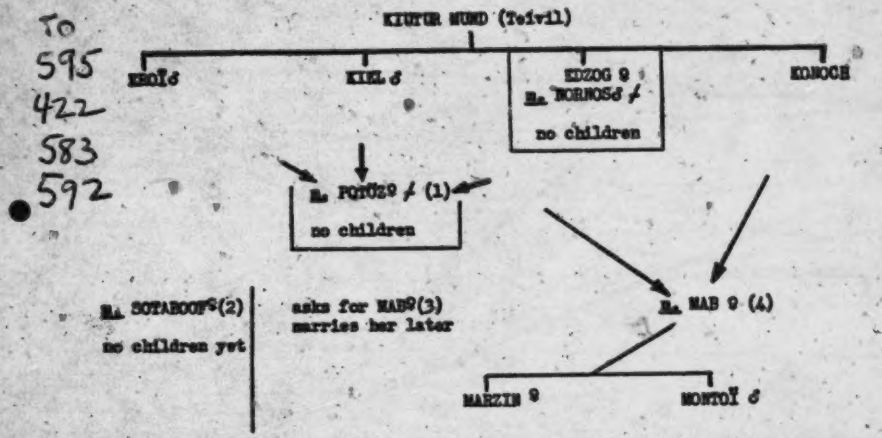

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kazan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220 c (Figure 2) --